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The fight against sexual violence

Alison Phipps

Abstract

This paper engages critically with the feminist fight against sexual violence, especially in relation to global rightward shifts in which political and cultural narratives around gender are being reshaped and rejuvenated. In the context of a new 'war on women' worldwide, #MeToo and similar movements have been key to contemporary political resistance. However, mainstream movements against sexual violence are ill-equipped to address the intersections of patriarchy, capitalism and colonialism which produce sexual violence. Furthermore, the reactionary arms of these movements are gaining increasing power and platforms, dovetailing with the narratives of the far right in their attacks on sex workers and trans people. I argue that to resist an intersectionality of systems, we need what Angela Davis calls an intersectionality of struggles, and that feminism which does not centre the most marginalised is not fit for purpose.

Introduction

'Seared into my memory'. This was one of the phrases animating the cover of *Time* magazine on 15 October 2018. It was taken from Dr Christine Blasey Ford's testimony to the US Senate Judiciary Committee hearings on Judge Brett Kavanaugh's confirmation to the Supreme Court, quotes from which were arranged into a striking image of her taking the oath. It also reflects how I and many other survivors felt about Dr Ford's testimony of sexual assault by Justice Kavanaugh, especially when juxtaposed with his statements. In an image circulated widely on social media, Kavanaugh was shown shouting into a microphone during a speech in which he called the process a 'national disgrace' and a 'grotesque and coordinated character assassination', fuelled by 'anger about President Trump' and 'revenge on behalf of the Clintons'.

Although Kavanaugh was eventually confirmed, Dr Ford's actions inspired a wave of support across the globe, and prompted comparisons to Professor Anita Hill, whose 1991 testimony during Justice Clarence Thomas' nomination hearings put the issue of sexual harassment firmly on the agenda. In her autobiography, *Speaking Truth to Power*, Hill wrote: 'To my supporters I represent the courage to come forward and disclose a painful truth - a courage which thousands of others have found since the hearing'.¹

Gender, violence, and neoliberalism

Hill and Blasey Ford's testimonies mark early and late stages of the global expansion of neoliberal capitalism, with its production of massive inequalities and insecurities, including ones related to gender. Recently, many countries have been subject to what Sylvia Walby calls a 'cascading crisis'.ⁱⁱ Recession, following financial crisis, has justified austerity policies that have widened gaps between rich and poor, with women and children bearing the brunt of cuts and women being pushed out of shrinking labour markets. And when inequalities increase, so too do domestic and sexual violence.

Silvia Federici has identified a new 'war on women', constituted by rising violence, femicide and attacks on reproductive rights - particularly in countries which are being re-colonised through globalisation.ⁱⁱⁱ In the West, although recent history has seen increasing fluidity in individual gender identities, there has also been a reassertion of binary gender in economic, social and cultural terms, as seen in the trends Federici identifies as well as cuts to social welfare systems, discourses of 'natural' and 'intensive' motherhood, and an intensified focus on women's appearance.

Economic crisis has also been the context for a global swing to the right, in which marginalised groups have been blamed for scarcity and other problems not of their making. The 2016 Brexit referendum in the UK captured growing (or perhaps increasingly explicit) anti-immigrant sentiment, as well as a backlash against 'experts', 'elites' and social justice movements (which were often positioned as one and the same). Similar currents underpinned the election of Donald Trump to the US Presidency, achieved even after multiple allegations of sexual misconduct, in a triumph of whiteness over feminist solidarity.

Both events were followed by increases in racist and other hate crimes, and the US has recently been the site of a number of racist and homophobic mass shootings by men radicalised by the far right. This violence is deeply gendered: mass shootings are committed almost exclusively by men, and there is evidence that perpetrators are often domestic abusers as well.^{iv} Mass killings in the US and Canada have also been perpetrated by 'incels' (involuntary celibates), a key faction in the online 'manosphere', who blame women for their lack of access to sex.

Contemporary bigotries are not new: they are a specific cultural expression of the capitalist-colonial nexus, and exist in diluted forms in liberal discourse. However, as the populist and far right has made electoral gains, the extreme has become mainstream. Just as colonialism imposed binary gender as a means of controlling land, production and behaviour, contemporary far right politics blends racism with attacks on feminists and LGBT (especially trans) people.

In 2018, 'proud homophobe' Jair Bolsonaro was elected President of Brazil: shortly afterwards his allies proposed a bill to end 'communist indoctrination' and 'gender ideology' in education. Earlier that year, Hungary's proto-fascist government banned gender studies as part of a broader crackdown on progressive thought. Events such as this are the culmination of a process through which 'gender ideology' has been positioned as the enemy within conservative and evangelical circles across the world.

Resistance and backlash

This massive reassertion of masculinity, whiteness and class privilege was exemplified by the aggressive and entitled demeanour of Justice Kavanaugh at his confirmation hearings. However, support for Dr Ford was bolstered by a growing resistance: the resurgent right has been met by a younger, more diverse and more radical international left, which is beginning to achieve electoral success. In relation to sexual violence, resistance has taken its most high-profile form in the shape of #MeToo. Originally the title of a movement created by black feminist Tarana Burke in 2006, the #MeToo hashtag went viral after a tweet by white actress Alyssa Milano, eleven years later. It trended in at least 85 countries, with 1.7 million tweets and 12 million Facebook posts in the first six weeks, many of which contained disclosures of sexual violence.^v

#MeToo has reverberated worldwide, through disclosures on online and social media, and actions which link with established campaigns as well as marshalling the newly politicised. It represents a point of connection between liberal feminisms and more intersectional and critical forms, although the movement itself is largely mainstream. Srila Roy has documented how the movement reached India in 2018, a country which had not seen such a surge of mainstream concern with sexual violence since the gang-rape and murder of Jyoti Singh Pandey in 2012.^{vi} #MeToo has also inspired the *Time's Up* organisation in the US, which aims to create safety and equity in the workplace, and a variety of initiatives in other countries. Other projects have been rejuvenated by the movement: in universities, in political institutions, and within radical communities.

As a mainstream and media movement, #MeToo has reshaped contemporary narratives around sexual violence. The variety of disclosures made under the hashtag has allowed for discussion of what Liz Kelly terms a continuum of acts which, although defined as more and less 'serious', all have similar functions: to reflect and produce male power.^{vii} Sexual violence has been correlated with the 'everyman' rather than the 'bad man', through a volume of personal stories which show how frequently it is perpetrated and normalised. The movement also galvanised a high-profile (and ongoing) backlash, in which men were seen as victims of a vengeful mob, and it was bemoaned that their everyday entitlements to touch or 'flirt' were being threatened.

This tapped broader currents on the right, where bigotry has been framed (or reframed) as freedom of speech, and progressive movements and institutions positioned as its enemy. Such narratives also have more liberal formulations, in which the power relations structuring the 'marketplace of ideas' are ignored or erased. 'Identity politics' is often the bogeyman here: as a cipher for the resentments of those who feel equality has gotten out of hand, or as the sign of a parochial obsession with difference that threatens Enlightenment ideals. On the right the university is a principal adversary, along with the 'snowflake' students it contains; these are targets shared by some academics, many of whom are members of the growing 'intellectual dark web' of self-styled mavericks and truth-tellers.

In the yearly 'Free Speech University Rankings' published by *Spiked*, equality and sexual harassment policies can get a university a negative rating. This antipathy to social justice projects is shared by 'professor against political correctness' Jordan Peterson, a bestselling author with almost a million Twitter followers. Peterson is vehemently opposed to feminism and 'postmodern neo-Marxism', and although he describes himself as a 'classical liberal', he is celebrated by the alt-right. He was a prominent supporter of a recent hoax against gender and critical race studies journals, orchestrated by three scholars aiming to expose these disciplines as ideologically-motivated 'grievance studies', and to purge universities of such scholarship. Converging with far-right attacks on 'gender ideology', interventions such as this cast a long shadow in the neoliberal university, where public opinion is often allowed to dictate value.

Sexual violence in the oppressive imaginary

Within all these trends, narratives about gendered and intersecting inequalities, and movements designed to tackle them, are being recrafted and rejuvenated. Furthermore, even as neoliberalism and neo-imperialism produce increases in women's victimisation worldwide, the idea of women's safety is being weaponised by the right. As the Brexit referendum loomed, UK Independence Party leader Nigel Farage claimed that women could be at risk of sex attacks from gangs of migrant men if Britain remained in the European Union.^{viii} Donald Trump made similar comments about Mexican men during his campaign for the US presidency.^{ix} In 2018, UKIP appointed anti-Islam activist Tommy Robinson as its advisor on 'grooming gangs'. In debates on 'bathroom bills' in the US, and the proposed reform of the Gender Recognition Act in the UK, trans women have been situated as potential rapists (see below).

These politics are not novel either: the (white, privileged) rape victim has long been a key motif in 'law and order' and anti-immigration agendas in the West, and in the violent suppression of indigenous populations in colonised countries. The figure of the victimised Other (usually a Muslim woman), in need of rescue by 'Western values', has underpinned a variety of neo-colonial incursions, including the War on Terror itself. Liberal feminism and liberal imperialism have always been closely intertwined, and liberal feminists have been complicit in both colonial and neo-colonial projects, as well as the legitimisation of the carceral state.

However, the current collision of heightened mainstream resistance against sexual violence with an intensified use of the survivor within the oppressive imaginary raises questions which are persistent and urgent, if not new. These concern what Angela Davis calls the 'intersectionality of struggles'.^x As a growing variety of conservatives profess concern for women's protection, what is the role of contemporary activism against sexual violence? This question is especially pressing because #MeToo and similar campaigns can provide - and have provided - clickbait for the outrage economy of the corporate media.^{xi} In many countries, far-right narratives are beginning to dominate conservative media outlets; and they also take up increasing amounts of space in liberal ones under the pretext of 'balanced debate'.

Political whiteness in sexual violence politics

It is not news to report that the most powerful and visible activists in the movement against sexual violence are white and privileged women - women like me, who have benefited from employment opportunities offered by neoliberalism, and who have ready access to corporate media platforms. #MeToo is the latest in a series of sexual violence campaigns in which privileged white women have utilised, but failed to fully recognise, the ground-breaking work of black women and other women of colour.

For example, second-wave white Western feminists built upon, usually without acknowledgement, the foundational labour of anti-rape activists in the US Civil Rights movement. And activism by working-class women, many of them also women of colour, has been crucial in naming and fighting sexual harassment in the workplace. But white academics and lawyers have tended to get the credit. The activism and scholarship of feminists from the global South is rarely credited at all.

As white and privileged women in the West now say 'time's up' to men via corporate media platforms, and as accused men appear in the same media platforms defending themselves, the politics of sexual violence can appear to be a conversation between white people about who is in control. This is what I call 'political whiteness', a *modus operandi* shared by mainstream sexual violence feminisms and the backlashes against them.^{xii} I have theorised this partly through building on Gurminder Bhambra's identification of 'methodological whiteness' in academia, which highlights a universalisation of white experience and inattention to structures and histories of race and racism in shaping the world.^{xiii} Political whiteness incorporates these elements in its grammar, while its practice tends to emphasise individual injuries and their redress, rather than global revolution.

As #MeToo founder Tarana Burke has consistently pointed out, the movement in the mainstream has focused on bringing down powerful men. Men like Harvey Weinstein, whose arrest was described in *Time* as a 'pivotal turning point' and elicited an outpouring on social media. Or Larry Nassar, who was told by Judge Rosemarie Aquilina at sentencing that, if authorised, she would have 'allow[ed] some or many people to do to him what he did to others'. Aquilina was widely celebrated as a feminist hero and icon of #MeToo.^{xiv} However, strengthening punitive technologies will not generally affect men like Weinstein and Nassar. The positioning of the state and institution as protective rather than oppressive is a function of whiteness and other forms of privilege, and remains central to mainstream feminist politics even as the far right takes hold of parliaments in the West and elsewhere.

Mainstream campaigns against sexual violence have also tended to use naming and shaming in the outrage media as a precursor to demanding criminal justice remedies or institutional discipline. This tactic - which frequently prompts defences of perpetrators - often means that the person who is believed is the one who happens to have the 'better' (more compelling, more commodifiable) story. As media outlets monetise claims and counterclaims, naming and shaming can also bolster what I call 'institutional airbrushing'. This is a process by which neoliberal institutions obsessed with how things look rather than how they are merely remove the individual 'blemish', while the systemic malaise remains.^{xv} Institutional airbrushing produces the 'pass the harasser' problem, in which those who 'move on' after sexual misconduct allegations simply continue this behaviour in their next job.^{xvi}

Naming and shaming is often a last resort: to criticise it as a strategy is not a judgment of survivors who feel they have no other option. However, it is not always conducive to collective or systemic solutions. Some activists have suggested that these problems can be solved by more such speech: for instance, by repeatedly naming and shaming individuals in public, or using private ‘whisper networks’ to prevent perpetrators getting another post. However, this is a collective solution for the privileged few. As we purge academia and similar high-status professions of abusive men, we are likely to impose them on our sisters working with fewer protections in other employment sectors.

Feminists and the far right

In a climate of growing fear and insecurity, it is especially incumbent upon us to follow Audre Lorde’s advice and work against the oppressive values we have taken into ourselves.^{xvii} Liberal feminisms can be co-opted by, or complicit with, imperialist and carceral state agendas; and there are also more reactionary formulations which can dovetail with the politics of the far right, particularly when it comes to sex work and transgender equality. Viewed empathically, reactionary feminisms can be seen as representing misdirected grief and anger, rooted in sexual trauma. However, an intersectional analysis demands that we examine the forms of supremacy which can lurk within the politics of the oppressed.

In debates about sex workers’ rights, feminist activists often speak on behalf of those who have exited prostitution. The traumatic experiences of these women are situated within arguments for various forms of criminalisation: usually the criminalisation of clients which, because it does not directly target sex workers, is supported on feminist grounds. When sex workers point out that this Nordic Model creates considerable risk - for instance, by reducing their ability to screen clients and by increasing police surveillance - they are often dismissed as ‘happy hookers’ who do not care about other women’s safety.^{xviii} The sex worker does not figure as a sister here, but as a handmaiden of the patriarchy, who endangers women as a class because she sells sexual services to men and thereby legitimates male entitlement.

Feminist campaigns against trafficking bolster conservative border policing through the creation of criminal ‘foreigners’ and evocation of ‘white slavery’ fears. They also, as Juno Mac and Molly Smith argue, erase the fact that the criminalisation of undocumented migration has *created* the market for people-smuggling as well as pushing some migrants into prostitution.^{xix} In 2018, US women’s groups joined the religious right in supporting the Stop Enabling Sex Traffickers Act (SESTA), and the Allow States and Victims to Fight Online Sex Trafficking Act (FOSTA). Through banning online advertising, these Acts prevent sex workers from using the Internet to organise, share safety information, and screen potential clients. Feminist support for them was given over the objections of many trafficking survivors and their advocates, who argued that by stopping sex workers working on their own terms, the Acts would increase vulnerability to exploitation.^{xx}

Reactionary feminists (who often identify as radical) have also recently been outspoken in their opposition to proposals to reform the Gender Recognition Act in the UK, and in their support for trans-exclusionary ‘bathroom bills’ in the US. There are powerful continuities between this feminist politics and that of the far right: an attachment to biology as destiny and a construction of trans people as a threat. Cisgender women’s experiences of sexual violence perpetrated by cisgender men are shared within narratives in which the trans woman is not a sister but a potential sexual predator. In some formulations, ‘transactivists’ become part of the contemporary war on women, with the rights of trans women to be recognised as women, and to live free of violence and abuse, redefined as men’s rights to enter women’s spaces.^{xxi}

In 2017, the US Women’s Liberation Front formed a coalition with evangelical and anti-abortion group Focus on the Family, to oppose trans-inclusive bathroom bills and attempts to interpret Title IX of the Education Act (which prohibits sex discrimination in education) to protect trans rights.^{xxii} In the UK, the group Fair Play for Women, which opposes reforms to the Gender Recognition Act, has worked closely with Monmouth MP David Davies, who has consistently voted for stronger restrictions on abortion, for repealing the Human Rights Act, and against gay marriage. Trans-exclusionary feminists have also actively supported attacks on ‘identity politics’, ‘gender ideology’ and in some cases even gender studies, in this instance as a proxy for trans people and their allies.^{xxiii}

Feminist attacks on gender studies often focus on its supposed domination by postmodernism, which is falsely positioned as denying materiality because of its deconstruction of the body and critical engagement with the binary model of biological sex. This is a target shared by the alt-right, who skewer postmodernism as irrational and relativist even as they articulate their own post-truth politics. Postmodernism is also reviled by members of the ‘intellectual dark web’, including Jordan Peterson, who rose to fame after his opposition to a Canadian bill outlawing gender identity discrimination. The bill curtailed free speech, Peterson argued, by requiring the use of gender-affirming pronouns; and this argument has been echoed by trans-exclusionary feminists.^{xxiv}

White, Western feminists have long been complicit with oppression within the liberal-colonial nexus. They have also found allies on the religious right on previous occasions, for instance in campaigns against pornography in the 1980s. However, the current rightward shift, with its violent reassertion of binary gender, has allowed reactionary feminists to gain power and platforms, and to circulate narratives that tend to be both simplistic and hyperbolic - suiting both the outrage media and the more general contemporary tabloidisation of debate. As their influence grows, there are increasing claims that trans-exclusionary feminists are being silenced: this is also straight from the right-wing playbook, where claims of being silenced flourish in the context of a growing entitlement to speak.

The intersectionality of struggles

The feminist movement against sexual violence is not a monolith, and even in its mainstream forms it contains discontinuities and shifts. For example, some liberal feminists have disavowed reactionary narratives about trans people. However, political whiteness provides continuity between both liberal and radical feminisms, producing a lack of intersectionality and a centring of concerns with power and control. Furthermore, as with other issues, such as immigration, the 'legitimate concerns' of liberal feminists often provide a stalking horse for reactionary views.

Both liberal and reactionary feminisms by and large fail to interrogate the system of capitalist accumulation that relies upon women's economic subordination to men in both the family and the workplace, which is a key driver of violent and sexually violent abuses of power. In the West, women have also suffered disproportionately from the rise of the precarious economy, and many women work within male-dominated industries that provide little to no employment protection. And whether securely employed or not, Westerners are all complicit with the forms of globalised capitalist accumulation that are entwined with violence against women in other parts of the world.

Although some reactionary feminists identify as 'radical', both trans- and sex worker-exclusionary politics rest on what Sophie Lewis identifies as the myth that 'we can and must protect our bodies and selves from commodification and technological contamination, the better to do healthful productive work'. This underlying bourgeois morality is often hidden by a vilification of the 'trans/hooker tyranny', which is accused of supporting neoliberal and consumerist notions of empowerment (a critique also often directed at young Muslim women who choose to cover). The neoliberal nature of this 'tyranny' is evidenced by pointing to pockets of gentrified sex work and the identity politics of privileged white spokespeople such as Caitlyn Jenner - erasing the fact that most sex workers and trans people live impoverished, precarious and difficult lives.^{xxv}

Echoing the right-wing fable that there is not enough to go around, these 'bad' rape victims are denied empathy and support in favour of the 'good' victims (cisgender, non-sex working women). Trans women and sex workers (categories which often overlap) are at disproportionate risk of violence, but are pitted against other women in a politics which does not challenge the neoliberal capitalist order that has created massive inequalities of distribution. Instead of advancing the fight for more secure workplaces and better-funded anti-violence services, this politics reinforces the stigmatisation and alienation of marginalised people.

The success of trans- and sex worker exclusionary politics creates additional risks of violence: for instance, for trans women forced into men's toilets (or the masculine cis women who are now beginning to be viewed with suspicion in women's ones), and for sex workers dealing with the effects of criminalisation. To borrow Melissa Gira Grant's analysis, this is feminism's own 'war on women', where some women are subjected to poverty, violence and prison in the name of defending other women's rights.^{xxvi} The positioning of sex workers and trans people as culprits rather than comrades in relation to the broader right-wing war on women is an insult which facilitates a variety of forms of injury.

#MeToo and the liberal feminist movement against sexual violence, which makes use of the capitalist media, state and institutions to redress individual harms, is not well-placed to tackle the intersections of patriarchy, capitalism, colonialism and other frameworks of domination which produce sexual violence. The reactionary arms of this movement not only fail to address this intersectionality of systems, but are also often complicit with the far-right politics it also produces. As the ‘we’ of many Western nations is violently reconstituted as white and privileged, reactionary feminists define their own ‘we’ in exclusionary terms.

As resistance against sexual violence shows no signs of abating, right-wing governments might offer settlements to feminist groups. ‘Winning’ on these terms is likely to mean a loss for someone else, within liberal as well as reactionary frameworks. To resist an intersectionality of systems, we need an intersectionality of struggles: for instance, connecting #MeToo with prison abolition; campaigns against workplace sexual misconduct with sex workers’ rights; struggles against reproductive coercion with transgender equality. This is work that many activists, most of them black women and other women of colour, have long been doing at the grassroots;^{xxvii} there is also a growing feminist anti-fascist bloc opposing the far-right’s weaponisation of sexual violence.

These activists understand that single-issue politics is not resistance, that feminism which does not centre the most marginalised is not fit for purpose. I end with Audre Lorde’s question, posed in her 1981 keynote speech at the National Women’s Studies Association conference: ‘What woman here is so enamoured of her own oppression that she cannot see her heelprint on another woman’s face?’^{xxviii} Almost forty years later, this question continues to be key to the fight against sexual violence.

Alison Phipps is Professor of Gender Studies at Sussex University. She is author of *The Politics of the Body: Gender in a Neoliberal and Neoconservative Age* (Polity Press), and is currently working on a new volume entitled *Personal Business: the Fight against Sexual Violence*.

ⁱ Anita Hill, *Speaking Truth to Power*, Anchor Books 1997.

ⁱⁱ Sylvia Walby, *Crisis*, Polity Press 2015.

ⁱⁱⁱ Silvia Federici, *Witches, Witch-hunting and Women*, PM Press 2018.

^{iv} Charlotte Alter, ‘The troubling link between domestic violence and mass shooters’, *Time* magazine November 9 2017.

^v Alison Phipps, ‘Every woman knows a Weinstein’: political whiteness in #MeToo and public feminisms around sexual violence,’ under review by *Feminist Formations* 2018.

^{vi} Srila Roy, ‘#MeToo is a crucial moment to revisit the history of Indian feminism’, *Economic & Political Weekly* 53(42), 2018.

^{vii} Liz Kelly, *Surviving Sexual Violence*, Polity Press 1988.

^{viii} Tim Ross, ‘Nigel Farage: Migrants could pose sex attack threat to Britain’, *The Telegraph* June 4 2016.

^{ix} BBC News, ‘Drug dealers, criminals, rapists’: what Trump really thinks of Mexicans’, August 31 2016.

^x Angela Davis, *Freedom is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine and the Foundations of a Movement*, Haymarket Books 2016.

^{xi} Alison Phipps, ‘Reckoning Up: sexual harassment and violence in the neoliberal university. *Gender and Education* DOI: 10.1080/09540253.2018.1482413, 2018.

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- ^{xii} Alison Phipps, 'Every woman knows a Weinstein.' I did not originally intend to become a white woman writing about whiteness, and I realise this does not absolve me of my own positionality. However, I also believe that the labour of challenging whiteness should not be left to people of colour.
- ^{xiii} Gurminder K Bhambra, 'Brexit, Trump, and "methodological whiteness": on the misrecognition of race and class,' *British Journal of Sociology* 68(S1): S214-S232, 2017.
- ^{xiv} Lauren Holter, 'Tweets about Judge Aquilina will make you fangirl so hard,' *Bustle* January 24 2018.
- ^{xv} Alison Phipps, 'Reckoning Up.'
- ^{xvi} Nancy Chi Cantalupo and William C. Kidder, 'A Systematic Look at a Serial Problem: Sexual Harassment of Students by University Faculty,' *Utah Law Review* 2018: 671-786.
- ^{xvii} Audre Lorde, 'Learning from the 60s', address delivered February 1982 at Harvard University.
- ^{xviii} Alison Phipps, 'Whose Personal is More Political? Experience in contemporary feminist politics', *Feminist Theory* 17(3): 303-321, 2016.
- ^{xix} Juno Mac and Molly Smith, *Revolting Prostitutes: the fight for sex workers' rights*, Verso 2018.
- ^{xx} Melissa Gira Grant, 'Anti-online trafficking bills advance in Congress, despite opposition from survivors themselves', *The Appeal* March 14 2018. In the US, trafficking is defined as 'recruiting, harbouring, transporting, providing, or obtaining a person for compelled labour or commercial sex acts through the use of force, fraud, or coercion', and does not require movement.
- ^{xxi} Alison Phipps, 'Whose Personal is More Political?'
- ^{xxii} Nick Duffy, 'Radical feminists team up with right-wing evangelicals to oppose trans rights protections', *Pink News*, February 8 2017.
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- ^{xxv} Sophie Lewis, 'SERF 'n' TERF: notes on some bad materialisms', *Salvage* February 6 2017.
- ^{xxvi} Melissa Gira Grant, 'The war on sex workers', *Reason* January 21 2013.
- ^{xxvii} Mariame Kaba is a key figure working in the spaces between prison abolition and the eradication of sexual violence: see <http://mariamekaba.com/> for more information.
- ^{xxviii} Audre Lorde, *Sister Outsider: essays and speeches*, pp133-4, Crossing Press, 2007.